1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
~~AF12~~ AF12

631 the resources of the primary economic area,
175 China did not again experience a protracted
433 period of disunity until the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. Though free from the risks and losses of ocean transport and less vulnerable to pirate raids along the coast, the inland waterway was increasingly costly to operate and maintain. This fact and the military danger of over-reliance of the capital on the South for grain induced the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties to attempt development of the Hui River area near Peking by the construction of additional irrigation systems. The productive results of the projects never came up to expectations, however, because the climate and soil of the area were unfavorable.[15]

441 During the same period in Shansi,
175 individual initiative developed numerous similar
[312] hydraulic works in the province. Such private
[471] activity was uncommon in China and seems to
[565] have been an outgrowth of the relatively high
[438] degree of commercial development in Shansi.[16] The rise of a merchant class in the province began with the Shansi people's participation in trade with the Mongol nomads at state-regulated markets, established on the frontier

15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Ibid., p. 144.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China
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441/175 by the Ming Dynasty and maintained by the Ch'ing rulers.

441/453 The business group in Shansi increasingly gained experience in credit transactions, and by the nineteenth century had achieved a dominant position in the economy of Inner Mongolia and a leading role in the banking business of China.[17] Among the prominant banking figures from Shansi in Modern China have been such men as H. H. Kung (K'ung Hsiang-hsi), former finance minister of the Nationalist Government and president of the Bank of China; Po I-po, one-time guerrilla leader and later minister of Finance of the People's Republic; and Chi Ch'ao-ting, director of economic research at the Central Bank of China under the Nationalist Government, and under the Communist regime secretary-general of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a director and assistant general manager of the Bank of China.

177 ## III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Invasion of the West

After the middle of the nineteenth

17. Eberhard, A History of China, p. 278; Lattimore, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

575 and occupational lines. When landlords were
579 forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

467 Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

441 Another kind of association existed to serve
576 travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

575 Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

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CITY STREET—MARKET DAY

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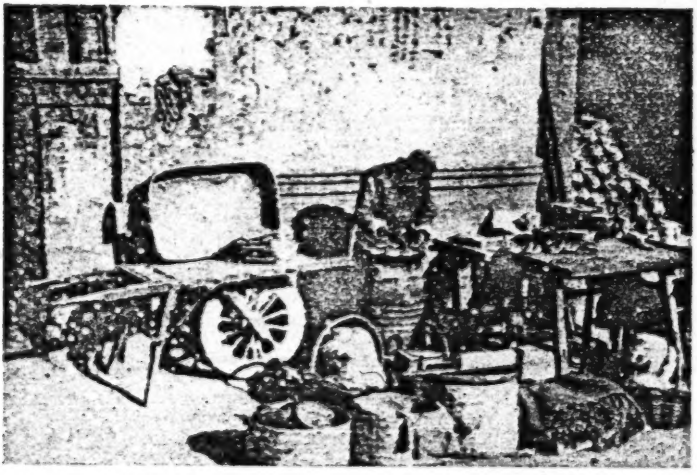

FOOD SHOP

[p. 4 (9)]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 / AF12 North China AF12

were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds.

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance.

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

441 Commerce. Orders from the Agricultural Section and the Bureau of In-
634 dustry required changes in the organization and rules of the Association in 1916 and again in 1918, if it was to register with the Section and be authorized to use a seal.

The Association's annual budget of $2,000 was part of the hsien budget. The necessary funds came from membership fees of $3, $4, and $5 a year, a fee for handling the excise stamps attached to receipts, and part of the tax on cotton cloth.

The organization of the Bureau of Public Judgment on Commercial Matters was one of the duties of the annual conference of the Association. This Bureau was to "harmonize opinions and compromise disagreements by conciliation and arbitration". The salary of the director appointed to handle the affairs of the Bureau was $20 a month. The secretary was paid $8 a month and the clerk $5.

Anti-Litigation Society

627 The Anti-Litigation Society was organized in 1923 and reorganized in 1925. Its purpose was to prevent litigation and to arbitrate the disputes of the people. The $635 spent for its activities was part of the budget of the Merchants' Association.

When the Anti-Litigation Society was reorganized the magistrate then in office directed that all lawsuits should be heard and, if possible, settled by the Society before they came to the yamen. Only those cases with which the Society was unsuccessful were to come before the hsien court. More than 100 cases were settled in the five years from 1923 to 1928.

Anti-Foot-Binding Society

304 The Anti-Foot-Binding Society was a semi-official organization founded in 1913 to persuade the women to unbind their feet and parents not to bind their daughters' feet. The magistrate was the president. The head of the Bureau of Education and the head of the Police Court were the vice-presidents. The heads of other community organizations were the members and honorary officers. For a time meetings were held the first of every month in the offices of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn. Six women were appointed as district investigators and given travel fees of $20 each. Branch societies were organized in prac-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XIV

Buying and Selling

BUYING AND SELLING was carried on in Ting Hsien by 2,228 stores in the city and villages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, usually held six days per month, and at 50 temple fairs, held once a year.

The main trading center of the hsien was naturally the city and its three suburbs. Its market was held 12 days a month instead of the usual six days of the village markets. It had eight temple fairs during the year.

A survey in 1930 of the stores in the city and its suburbs found 90 different kinds and a total of 654. Of these 467 were inside the city walls and 187 in the suburbs. Food shops totaled 104, restaurants and tea shops 81, and inns 32. Eighty-six stores carried stock that could be described only as miscellaneous. The complete list is given in Table 86. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers, including 34 women, an average of 4.2 employees per store. About two-thirds of the men were natives of Ting Hsien.

The 1,985 workers employed by the 467 stores inside the walls included 292 apprentices, one apprentice to 5.8 other workers. Seventy-one per cent of the workers had had some formal education, but 561 were reported to have had none.

Some 60 per cent of the city stores had been open less than 10 years but there were 12 that claimed a history of more than 100 years. These included eye medicine stores, eye medicine makers, old style drug stores, tobacco, salt, and cloth shops. One family had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations.

Only 85 stores, 18.2 per cent, owned their buildings. Fifty-one per cent of the stores had no more than five chien of space. Only 19 had more than 20 chien. The largest store, which occupied several court yards, had 78 chien.

In the suburbs 21 per cent of the stores owned their premises. Three stores, two drug stores, and one warehouse were more than 100 years old.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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There were 1,574 stores in the 453 villages. Thirty-four per cent of the villages had no stores and another 22 per cent had only one store. Only 25 villages had more than 10 stores and only four had more than 50 stores. The largest number was 160. If, as seems probable, the 10 highest numbers represented the 10 market towns, the number of stores in the towns ranged from 24 to 160.

In Tung T'ing, a market town of 362 families to the east of the city, there were 19 different kinds of stores. The total number was 51. Again the food shops, restaurants, and inns made up about one-third of the total number. The full list is given in Table 89.

Eighty-six per cent of the Tung T'ing stores owned their premises, more than four and a half times the city rate. Thirty-seven per cent of the stores had less than five chien, the largest 27 chien. Half the stores were less than five years old. The oldest was about 50 years old.

The capital of more than one-half of the shops was less than $300. Eleven had $1,000 or more. One, a money shop, had $20,000.

The profits of most of the stores were estimated to be below $300 a year. For 10 shops the amount was evidently over $1,000 per year but the exact amounts could not be determined.

The stores employed 146 men. Twelve of these were apprentices. This was one apprentice to 11 workers, almost one-half the rate in the city stores. The smaller size of the Tung T'ing stores—many were one man shops and the largest had only eight men—and the fact that, in many cases, the village stores were open only on market days would easily account for the smaller proportion of apprentices.

The origin of the workers was Tung T'ing 31 per cent, other villages in Ting Hsien 49 per cent, outside Ting Hsien 20 per cent. Thirteen came from Shansi. In the city about one-third of the workers came from other hsien. Seventy-one per cent of the employees were married.

Wages in the stores varied somewhat but the following figures give the general level: bookkeepers $50 per year; errand and counter boys $40; workers $30 to $40 per year plus meals. Presents and bonuses added some $30 for the bookkeepers, $20 for the counter boys, and $10 for the workers and apprentices.

Food for Tung T'ing workers cost about $4.00 a month, 50 cents less than in the city, where the workers regularly had wheat flour for at least one of their two meals.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 86. STORES IN CITY AND SUBURBS, 1930

Bamboo	2	Foreign goods	9	Paper	1
Barber	8	Fruit	7	Paper boxes	1
Bath house	5	Glass and frames	1	Pen and ink	1
Bicycle	5	Godown	7	Pewter	2
Biscuits and cakes	30	Gold plating	2	Photographer	3
Blacksmith	3	Grain and flour	15	Pottery	6
Bone collector	2	Hemp	5	Printer	4
Books	6	Iron	6	Restaurant, big	10
Bow and arrow	1	Inn	32	——, small	53
Boxes and furniture	8	Jewelry	14	Salt	4
Bread, steamed	11	Kerosene	2	Scroll maker	1
Camel stable	1	Laundry	1	Seal cutter	2
Candle	1	Leather tanning	1	Second hand clothes	3
Candy	5	Leather belts	2	Sedan chair	1
Cart	3	Lumber	2	Shoemaker	3
Cigarette agents	2	Meat	6	Shoes	9
Cloth, foreign	17	Meat, chicken	6	Sieve makers	3
——, native	6	Metal works	1	Tailor	8
Coal	13	Miscellaneous, big	18	Tea leaves	6
Coffin	1	——, small	68	Tea shop	18
Copper	3	Money	43	Tinsmith	3
Cotton	8	Money, government	7	Tobacco	3
Curio	1	Mules	4	Towels	2
Dentist	2	Noodles	7	Transportation	2
Doctors' office	7	Oil	7	Umbrella maker	1
Drugs	20	Oil cake	1	Uniform	1
Dyeing	10	Oiled containers	1	Watch repair	1
Eye medicine	18	Painting and whitewash	2	Wine	12
Felt	1	Paintings and scrolls	2	Total	654
Flour mills	11				

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

TABLE 87. VILLAGE STORES

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Stores	*Villages*	*Stores*	*Villages*
0	155	11–15	14
1	100	16–20	1
2	59	21–25	1
3	36	26–30	3
4	20	31–50	2
5	21	51–100	3
6	13	160	1
7	8		453
8	5		
9	7	Total stores	1,574
10	4		

TABLE 88. VILLAGE MARKETS: NUMBER, DISTRIBUTION, AND DATES[1]

District	*Number*	*Per Cent of Villages*	*Dates*	*Number*
1	5	7	1, 5, 11, 15, 21, 25	1
2	10	16	1, 6, etc.	9
3	25	30	2, 7, etc.	18
4	19	26	3, 8, etc.	12
5	4	5	4, 9, etc.	20
6	19	21	5, 10, etc.	22
	82	18		82

[1] Dates follow the lunar calendar. City has two 5 day market series, 1, 6 . . ., and 3, 8 . . ., a total of 12 days per month.

TABLE 89. STORES IN TUNG T'ING

Bath house	1	Drug	3	Pork	1
Bellows	1	Dyeing	1	Restaurant, small	5
Bicycle	2	Inn	5	Rope	1
Cakes, wheat	4	Iron utensils	2	Salt	1
——, miscellaneous	1	Miscellaneous, big	10	Wine	1
Cloth, foreign	4	Money exchange	6	Total	51
Doctor	1	Oil	1		

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 90. CHAI CH'ENG FOOD MARKETS
(8th month, 14th day, 1928)

	Sellers	Price per Catty[1]	Catties Offered	Stall Rent
Beans	18	9		
Beef	1	$0.142	1,200	$0.20
Cabbage	6	2		
Cakes	7	62–96	2,700	.20
Celery	1	5[2]		
Cucumbers	3	3[2]		
Eggplant	38	4		
Ginger	14	108		
Grapes	9	$0.18	280	.10
White beets	5	60		
Leeks	4	8		
Mutton	8	$0.167	150	.20
Noodles	29	$0.133		.20
Onions	6	4		
Pears	26	$0.16	3,900	.10
Persimmons	5	6[2]	76[3]	.10
Pomegranates	4	$0.14	160	.10
Pork	51	$0.20	175[4]	.10
Squash	23	2		
Cooked food	4			.20
	262			

[1] In coppers, except decimal figures, which are in cents.
[2] Each.
[3] Baskets.
[4] Pigs.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 91. ROADSIDE STALLS IN TINGHSIEN CITY, THIRD MONTH, 1930

	Market Day	*Non Market Day*		*Market Day*	*Non Market Day*
Barber	3	2	Leather belts	4	–
Baskets	2	–	Matches	1	–
Bean curd	3	1	Medicine	3	–
Beef	7	2	Metal utensils	19	–
Bowls	1	–	Noodles	18	2
Bread	38	15	Noodles, dried	4	–
Cakes and dumplings	52	13	Onions	15	–
Candy	16	11	Paper	6	–
Chicken, smoked	2	2	Pens	3	–
Cigarettes	11	6	Pork	4	3
Cloth, foreign	3	–	Quilts	1	–
——, native	2	–	Raisins	2	–
Cloth sacks	1	–	Rope	8	–
Cotton	5	–	Saddles	1	–
Cotton seed oil	1	–	Scales	2	–
Flint	1	–	Shoes, new	2	–
Fodder	1	–	——, used	1	–
Food, cooked	13	3	Shoe repair	4	3
——, miscellaneous	27	23	Shoes and stockings	1	–
Foreign goods	1	–	Socks	3	–
Fortune telling	4	–	Soup, meat	2	–
Fruit, dried	5	1	——, noodle	1	–
——, fresh	4	4	Sweet potatoes	2	3
Fuel	10	–	Tea and candy	1	2
Garlic	15	–	Thread	2	–
Ginger	1	–	Tin utensils	3	–
Grain	23	–	Tobacco leaves	2	–
Groceries	23	23	Towels	1	–
Honey	1	–	Vegetables	10	2
Horse meat	4	3	Vegetable seeds	11	–
Incense	8	–	Weaving supplies	1	–
Kerosene	1	–	Willow boxes	1	–
Lanterns	3	–	Total	434	124

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The copper price went up 37 per cent, from 800 to 1,100 cash per piece, but the silver equivalent rose only 5 per cent, from 76 to 80 cents.

During the six years from 1915 to 1921, the number of pieces sold went down 76.3 per cent, but during that time there were two increases in the copper price for a total of 300 cash, 27 per cent. The silver equivalent was nine cents, 11 per cent, higher in 1921 than it was in 1915. One wonders how it was that a community would see a 75 per cent decrease in demand and a sales loss of over $2,300,000 without attempting to save some of it by reducing rather than increasing prices. Even if it was spare time work the loss of the income from over a million and a half days of work could not help but be serious for any community.

Some of the loss undoubtedly was salvaged by shifting the looms to the weaving of other kinds of cloth. However, it does not seem probable that the local market could absorb any large additional amount. Unfortunately we were not able to get from the gild leaders their explanation of how it was that the price could go up in the face of a rapid decline in demand, or their estimate of the success of the weavers in shifting to other types of cloth when a large part of the market for chuang cloth disappeared. The price and output figures seem to indicate that the price of chuang cloth was very closely controlled by the cloth gild, a control made possible by the complete monopoly of the export market.

One wonders what were the influences that, after there had been a steadily increasing demand for almost a quarter century, cut the demand for chuang cloth by 50 per cent in four years and by more than 75 per cent in six years. Competition from Japanese cloth or from machine woven cloth from Tientsin might be a possible explanation, but in view of rapidly rising world prices and demand due to World War I, it hardly seems to be a probable one. We do not know of changed conditions in North China that would explain it. The floods of 1917 and the drought of 1920–21 do not seem to have been large factors. Poor economic conditions in the northwest provinces were given by one of our reports as the reason for the decline about that time of the market for waist bands.

The chuang cloth was shipped from six centers. Chuan Lu and Ch'ing Feng Tien, the two market towns in the 6th District, handled over 73 per cent of the shipments. Twenty-three per cent went from the hsien city. The business was handled by 45 cloth stores in the six centers. One had a history of 150 years. Twenty-five were less than 10

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/For information on the merchant guilds in Peking see category 116, entire text. For information on the history of the guilds see pp. 67-79; for information on the number of guilds, guild halls and guild offices see pp. 107-122; for information on guild organization see pp. 133-142; for information on guild membership see pp. 123-132; for information on guild meetings see pp. 143-146; for information on guild finances see pp. 147-154; for information on the apprentice system see pp. 155-168; for information on the charitable work of the guilds see pp. 169-173; for information on the religious life of the guilds see pp. 174-189./

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

443 From the above calculations we know that the correlation between the store and capital stock is quite significant, the coefficient being 0.68 and the probable error is only 0.058.

4. Years of Business.

To take the number of years during which a business has been established is a fairly good indication of the stability of business conditions, and the existence of of marketing systems. From the history of Ching Ho we should not expect very long business connections. Table XXIV shows that 48 stores or 39.4% have been opened within the last five years, and only two stores have been in existence for more than 100 years. Analysing the data for the recent period in greater detail we find 18 stores have been in existence for one year only, and four stores for less than one year. At first sight this would appear as if business conditions were not so good in the last year asin the previous years, but often the people give nine, ten or eleven months as one year. The general trend of decrease in the number of stores as the years advance is shown in the table XXIV:

5. Affiliation of Stores with Trade Organisations.

441 The stores in Ching Ho do not yet appear to be particularly interested in trade organisations, as out of the 122 only 36, or 30% have any trade affiliation. 17 of these joined the newly created Trades' Union directed by the local Party organisation, and which has only had a very short history from September

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

STORES

TABLE XXIV. YEARS OF BUSINESS OF ALL STORES

443

Years of business.	stores.	
	No.	%
Under 5	48	39.4
5 - 9	22	18.0
10 - 19	15	12.3
20 - 29	12	9.8
30 - 39	6	4.9
40 - 49	10	8.2
50 - 99	7	5.7
100 and over	2	1.6
Total	122	100.0

1928. Previously there was a Chamber of Commerce 441
of the old type which was supported by most of the stores, and was the most influential in the locality. Al though 7 stores state that they still belong to the Chamber, the Chamber itself does not now exist. The new Union has split the business world in Ching Ho into three divisions, those who support the old Chamber, supporters of the new Union, and the indifferents; and this has entirely destroyed business unity.

Several stores have trade connections with associations in Peking. Ten of the grain stores are members of the Lin Chen Chamber of Commerce (陸陳商會)

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

441 organised by and for grain merchants; the pawnshop is a member of the Peking Pawnshop Association; and the salt shop has joined the Peking Salt Association.

TABLE XXV. TRADE AFFILIATION OF STORES.

Types of Trade Organisations.	Stores. Number	%
New Trader' Union.	17	139
Old Chamber of Commerce	7	5.7
Lin Chen C. of C.	10	8.2
Peking Pawnshop Ass.	1	0.8
Peking Salt Ass.	1	0.8
No affiliation	86	70.5
Total	122	100.0

6. Capital

443 Although Ching Ho is a rural town of onl several hundred families, yet several stores command a capital of more than $10,000, and over 23% have a capital of more than $1,000. This is due to the existence of many grain stores, and large distributive stores, and the pawnshop usually has a large capital in any part of China. Yet the most numerous types of stores are those having a capital of about $100. The distribution can be seen from the following table:

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

1. The Chamber of Commerce.

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595 The Chamber of Commerce is usually the most important and influential economic organisation in every city and town in China, showing the power of trade in the life of modrn society. Ching Ho is no exception, although the history of the Chamber of of Commerce here only dates back to 1919, and was the result of an incident in the town at the time. One store keepers in the town was arrested by the police on a slight pretext, and the merchants acted together and were able to affect the release of the man. After this incident the merchants felt that there was need for some organisation through wbich they could act in case of necessity, and thus the Chamber of Commerce was formed. As there is no such organisation in the Wan Ping territory the Chamber was not recognized by the County Government, but two of its officers were recognized as Commercial Trustees of the town.

The Chamber had no office of its own and no regular meetings or business. It was controlled by a president, a vice-president and a council of fifteen store representatives. In the first instance the officers and rspresentatives were all grain merchants who are the most numerous ane powerful in Ching Ho, but later the cotton goods merchants succeeded in obtain-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

ind places for two of their representatives. This was the only change that took place after the Chamber was founded. About 60 stores were regular members ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber had also the right to levy definite contributions from other stores who were not members, as a recognition of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation which looked after the welfare and interests of the trading Center. 441 515

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 441 656

CHING HO: A SOCIALOGICAL ANALYSIS

441 the merchants when about sixty seven stores were
656 represented together with two local Party directors, and one representative from the county Party organisation. At this meeting it was decided to form a new union and three executive officers wers elected whose work was to be practically the same as that formerly performed by the Chamber of Commerce. As previously mentioned the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce were not in favour of the new organisation, and the lack of their moral and financial support has been a handicap to the work of the new union. Although the new association has the Party authorities behind it it lacks local co-opersation, and has not the same influence which was wielded by the old Chamber of Commerce. The union has been divided into three divisions-employers, employees and pedlars. In most towns the second class of employees is usually the strongest force, as they need more help and protection than the other two classes, but in Ching Ho it is the employers who control the Union, so that the new Union is very little different from the old Chamber. There has simply been a change of personnel from one faction to another. The Party authorities have left the town but the new Union has retained its power, altnough for some time there have been rumours that the old leaders intend to re-establish the Chamber of Commerce. Much will depend upon the attitude of the government. In Shanghai and Peping the Chambers of Commerce have been able to withstand the new unions, and are still the most influential economic organisations. If the government is prepared to adopt a liberal attitude it may be possible for

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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both organisations to work together in Ching Ho.

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

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The next important organization in the town is the farmers association which is called by various names in different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the